

MELETIUS' CHAPTER ON THE EYES: AN UNIDENTIFIED SOURCE

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I

That the work of Meletius the Monk *On the Constitution of Man* is a profound treatise no one would maintain.¹ That it deserves more attention than it has hitherto received, and for more reasons than one, may appear from this paper. Such at least is its purpose.

Of Meletius we know only what he tells us himself, that he was a monk at the monastery of the Holy Trinity situated in the town of Tiberiopolis, belonging to the *bandon*² of Akrokos and the Opsikian Theme.³ In another passage he states explicitly that he is a doctor, and that he practices cautery and blood-letting. He even gives us further, more personal, particulars: he is a Byzantine, the son of Gregory, short, blue-eyed, snub-nosed, afflicted with gout, and with a scar on his forehead.⁴ What we would most like to know he does not tell us—his dates. I have seen him placed as early as the fifth century A.D., which is clearly impossible. The latest author identified as a source for Meletius is Maximus Confessor (see below), who

died in 662 A.D., so that Meletius cannot have lived before the seventh century. It is customary to place him, for no very compelling reason, in the ninth century. Most recently, M. Morani has argued that Meletius, in his borrowings from Nemesius, used a Dresden codex, or a copy of it, which would require a dating in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.⁵ If Meletius is that recent, it is all the more interesting that he still had access to some of the works, now lost, which he used. Meletius' own manuscripts provide an absolute terminus: one at least is of the thirteenth century.⁶

Meletius' prefatory remarks make it perfectly clear that he himself believed that he had produced a new type of treatise, namely a concise, but complete, account of the nature of man. He claims no originality of thought for himself, but does insist, somewhat naively, that his treatise is the first synthesis to cover all aspects of the subject. Human anatomy and physiology, the relationship of body and soul, the names and etymologies of the parts of the body—a very important question for Meletius, as for the Greeks in general since the time of Plato's *Cratylus* and before—these and similar topics, occasionally seasoned with pious ejaculations of admiration for the Deity, constitute Meletius' chosen theme. That his work enjoyed a certain success in late Byzantium is suggested by the number of

[The reader is referred to the list of abbreviations at the end of the volume.]

¹The work is printed by J. A. Cramer in his *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. III (Oxford, 1836; repr. Amsterdam, 1963), 1–157, and is usually cited by Cramer's page and line numeration. There is also a text of it in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 64, coll. 1075–1310. The PG edition uses one additional manuscript (cod. Parisiensis 2299 = P) and adds the Latin version of Nicolaus Petreius (Venice, 1552). Neither edition is satisfactory.

²For βάνδον, originally a military term, see Du Cange's *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* and Lampe, *s.v.*

³p. 1.6–8 C.

⁴p. 155.1–3, 11 C. Meletius does not furnish these particulars about himself from mere whimsy; he is illustrating the meaning of "individual" (ἄτομον) and "person" (πρόσωπον) and chooses himself as an example.

⁵M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta del De natura hominis di Nemesio* (Milan, 1981), 147–55. A caveat: I have not yet seen this work and know of it from R. Browning's review in *CR*, n.s. 32 (1982), 149–51. Browning (p. 151, n.1) accepts Morani's argument. If this dating is correct, the treatise entitled Σύνοψις εἰς τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων by a certain Leo the Physician, whoever he was, will also have to be given a correspondingly more recent date, inasmuch as it consists almost entirely of excerpts from Meletius. See R. Renehan, ed. and trans., *Leo the Physician: Epitome on the Nature of Man* (Berlin, 1969 [*CMG* X, 4]).

⁶See Diels, *Handschriften*, II, 62–64 and *Nachtrag*, 58–59.

manuscripts still extant. Even more significant, not to say astonishing, is the existence of manuscripts in which the name of Meletius is explicitly linked with the august names of Hippocrates and Galen, as a kind of medical trinity. Historically this is of some importance. In late Byzantium Meletius seems to have acquired the status of a standard medical author. Neither original nor profound, he owed such success as he attained to the convenient format of his treatise. A medical and anthropological catechism, accessible and not unduly difficult, would find a ready audience in that period.

Thus Meletius' composition is of some interest as an historical document illustrating the tastes of the literate Byzantine public. Quite apart from this, the work is of considerable importance precisely because it is so unoriginal and derivative, paradoxical though that may sound. For Meletius has put together a pastiche consisting almost entirely of quotations and adaptations of earlier writers, medical and patristic. Scholars, especially Georg Helmreich,⁷ have succeeded in identifying a number of Meletius' sources.

One use to which this information can be put is as a supplementary corrective to the direct manuscript tradition of those authors whom Meletius transcribes. Occasionally he can be a valuable witness. Far more interesting is the fact that Meletius had access to earlier sources now lost. To give a surprising example, Meletius alone preserves a small fragment from a classical Greek tragedy;⁸ perhaps even more surprising, his source, direct or indirect, for this piece of verse was none other than Soranus of Ephesus, one of the greatest of Greek doctors, on whom more below.

Let us consider briefly what Meletius himself says of his sources, and then what the realities are. He mentions Hippocrates, Galen, "Socrates," and the church fathers Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Cyril. Of these Hippocrates is clearly window dressing cited to lend a spurious authority to the work.⁹ Meletius does quote several

works from the Galenic corpus, especially the *Definitiones medicae*, which is generally recognized as spurious. The mention of Socrates is more problematic; Meletius writes Σωκράτης δὲ ἐτυμολογίας μᾶλλον μορίων καὶ ὀνομάτων ἐν τῷ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου συντάγματι αὐτοῦ ὡς γραμματικῶς ἢ φιλόσοφος συνετάξατο.¹⁰ Meletius in fact pays particular attention to anatomical nomenclature and the corresponding etymologies (often, needless to say, fanciful). It happens that the source for his information in this area is not in doubt—the great Greek physician Soranus who wrote a treatise on this topic.¹¹ The proof for this assertion is simple and certain, even though the name Soranus appears nowhere in the manuscripts of Meletius: (1) Many anatomical etymologies given by Meletius have strikingly parallel entries in the Byzantine lexica, such as the so-called *Etymologicum Magnum*,¹² and these lexica on occasion specifically name Soranus' etymological work as their source. (2) Meletius both preserves a number of etymologies not to be found in the other Byzantine sources and also, in some cases where there are parallel entries, Meletius' account is fuller. Therefore Meletius does not take his material from these lexica. He is in fact the most important source for recovering what we can of Soranus' lost work; this alone would make his treatise most valuable for us. There may be other grounds for considering it a precious document. Before looking into this we must first attempt to solve a puzzle.

Meletius, as we have seen, makes no mention of Soranus; he mentions rather Socrates. What are we to make of this? There are at least three possibilities. Voigt assumed the existence of an otherwise unknown Socrates (the name is not uncommon) who excerpted Soranus' treatise and who was Meletius' immediate and acknowledged source. This is improbable. In the paragraph in question Meletius is clearly indulging in some innocent name-dropping; an obscure grammarian named Socrates is no fit

⁷ *Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius* (Berlin, 1918).

⁸ p. 83.7–8 C. = *Trag. Frag. Adesp.* 305a Kannicht-Snell; see *RhM* 109 (1966), 185–86.

⁹ p. 1.15–16 C.: Ἱπποκράτης περὶ φύσεως παιδίου καὶ ἀνδρός γράψας. If the reference is to the Hippocratic treatises *Περὶ φύσεως παιδίου* and *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*, neither of which Meletius quotes, the replacement of ἀνθρώπου by ἀνδρός in the title may be significant; Meletius is perhaps alluding to a work of which he had only heard and not read, hence the confusion. There are five brief Hippocratic quotations, three from the *Aphorisms* and two from *Nutrient*. Of these at least two are taken from Soranus (*Aph.* 2.21 = p. 89.28 C.; *Aph.* 1.15 = p. 101.4–

5 C.) and three, or rather all, are familiar sentences which Meletius could easily have known at second hand only (*Nutr.* 55 = p. 18.25 C.; *Nutr.* 8 = p. 101.13 C.; *Aph.* 5.48 = p. 115.21–22 C.). For example, knowledge of the epigrammatic ὑγρασὴ τροφῆς σχῆμα (= *Nutr.* 55) hardly proves direct acquaintance with the Hippocratic work whence it comes.

¹⁰ p. 1.21–23 C. L. Cohn wished to delete the καὶ after μορίων.

¹¹ See especially P. Voigt, *Sorani Ephesii Liber de etymologiis corporis humani quatenus restitui possit* (Griefswald, 1882), and L. Scheele, *De Sorano Ephesio medico etymologico* (Argentoratum, 1884).

¹² The parallelism extends even to the mutual inclusion of illustrative poetic quotations from works now lost.

company for Hippocrates and Galen, Basil and Gregory. Scheele therefore conjectured that Σωκράτης in the manuscripts was a corruption of Σωρανός and that Meletius had in fact mentioned Soranus here. Much as we would welcome such an explicit testimony, the context argues against Scheele's conjecture.

"In his treatise *On the Nature of Man* Socrates compiled his etymologies," writes Meletius, "more like a grammarian than a philosopher." Had Meletius been referring to the physician Soranus, he would have written "more like a grammarian than a doctor." The word φιλόσοφος points unmistakably to the famous Socrates, who certainly is fit company for Hippocrates and Galen.¹³ Meletius obviously thought that he was using a work by the Socrates. What he must have had to hand was a treatise under the name Socrates in his manuscript copy. Whether this was Soranus' original treatise, perhaps in an abridged form, the name Soranus having been corrupted to Socrates at some earlier stage of the transmission before reaching Meletius, or whether after all there really was a grammarian named Socrates who excerpted Soranus' work and who was Meletius' immediate source cannot be determined. In either event Meletius believed that he was in possession of a genuine work by the philosopher Socrates, and that tells us something about the level of his erudition.¹⁴

Meletius thus, at the very beginning of his work, cites famous names, some of whom he has actually used.¹⁵ He goes on to state explicitly what his practice will be, namely, to collect scattered excerpts into a single volume: οὐδεὶς μέντοι γε τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν ἀγίων τούτων συναγαγὼν φαίνεται τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ μίαν πραγματείας

ἀποτελέσαι. τὰ οὖν διεσπαρμένως ἐν ταῖς τούτων βιβλοῖς ἐγκείμενα αὐτὸς ἐκλαβὼν τὸ παρὸν, ὥς ἐνδόν, συνεστησάμην δὴ σύγγραμμα.¹⁶ What Meletius neglects to mention is a complete list of all his sources. To give a telling example, he probably quotes Nemesius' treatise *On the Nature of Man* more often than any other work, yet he never acknowledges the fact. The reason is clear: the name of Nemesius was not grand enough; it would not have lent sufficient authority to Meletius' work.¹⁷ The practice is not unknown among the Byzantines, who loved to display a sham learning by appealing to the great names of antiquity. But Meletius' practice approaches the bizarre. Almost immediately after the words just quoted he indulges in a typical *captatio benevolentiae*. "You must read this," he writes, "in an unofficial manner, with love and fear of God; do this for edification and do not hunt for inelegant expressions with which to criticize the author. For in my opinion the things compiled here are not so readily comprehensible by all, but many of them, in the case of most people, require considerable examination."¹⁸ Such an appeal to the reader's goodwill of course follows a long tradition and there would appear to be nothing unusual about it. It was a shock to discover that the passage had been lifted almost word for word from the prologue to one of Maximus Confessor's works.¹⁹

The foregoing analysis was necessary in order to establish Meletius' principles of composition. I regard the following as certain. First, Meletius' treatise is almost entirely derivative not only in content but in the actual wording, even when it is a question not of the formal subject matter itself but merely of incidental literary embellishment. Meletius' own main contribution consists in the patching together of excerpts from various writers into

¹³For the collocation of philosopher and physician compare, for example, Galen's *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, ed. and trans. P. DeLacy (CMG V 4, 1, 2 [Berlin, 1978–1980; 2 vols.]).

¹⁴By "Socrates" he would have understood the Socrates of the Platonic dialogues. Failure to distinguish between (a) Plato and (b) Socrates as represented in the dialogues of Plato has been common since antiquity—and not merely in casual allusions. The PG edition of Meletius actually prints here Σωκράτης . . . ἐν τῷ Περί φύσεως ἀνθρώπου συντάγματι αὐτοῦ [*sc.* in *Timaio*] . . . ! (Περί φύσεως—without ἀνθρώπου—was the "Thrasyllan" subtitle of the *Timaieus*; whether this is behind the comment "*sc.* in *Timaio*" I cannot say. Compare also perhaps the garbled reference to "Timaieus" at p. 60.17 C.)

¹⁵Galen, as we have seen, Meletius does quote; for Hippocrates compare above, n. 9. Of the church fathers, he often quotes Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and also Gregory of Nazianzus (not mentioned here). As for Chrysostom and Cyril, hitherto one passage from the former, none from the latter, has been detected.

¹⁶p. 2.3–7 C. Let the reader be advised that the text of Meletius which I print will on occasion (as here) differ from that of Cramer or Migne or both. I have access to collations of manuscripts, some made by Helmreich and others by myself, not known to the editors. This is not the place to indicate every minor departure from the printed texts.

¹⁷In some manuscripts Nemesius' work is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, so that some may wish to assume that Meletius believed that he really was quoting Gregory. I consider this most unlikely. Meletius also used Gregory's similar work *Περί κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου* (presumably the original cause of the confusion of ascription in the manuscripts of Nemesius), so that he knew the difference between the two. Moreover, in the Dresden codex of Nemesius which Meletius is believed to have used, directly or indirectly (see above, n. 5), the work is ascribed to Nemesius, not Gregory.

¹⁸p. 2.10–14 C.

¹⁹PG 90.960 B, 961 A.

a unified whole, and he tells us as much himself (p. 2.3–7 C.; see above). Secondly, Meletius often fails to name his sources; to judge from the cases of Nemesius and Maximus, the less eminent, and perhaps also the more recent, the authority, the more likely that Meletius will be silent.

In short, that practically everything in Meletius is borrowed goods is more than a working hypothesis; rather it is as certain as such things can be. Many passages in Meletius have been tracked down to their sources; there remain many, primarily of medical content, for which no known source exists. Given the extent of the patristic and later Greek medical corpora—and some works are preserved only in manuscript even today—it is possible that such sources are lurking somewhere, undetected still. But it is far more likely that they have not survived. Herein lies Meletius' chief significance for us. He is the repository of some lost Greek medical work(s) waiting to be recovered from his pages.

I propose to illustrate this by an analysis of his longest chapter, that on the eyes (pp. 61.7–72.20 C.).

II

The contents of the chapter are briefly as follows. A short introductory paragraph (p. 61.10–21 C.) announces the topics to be treated. Next comes a paragraph (p. 61.22–62.13 C.) dealing with the general “blend” (χρᾶσις), shape, and size of the eye. No one has discovered a source for this section, although I may note that the subject matter and, to some extent, the wording, is similar to a passage in Galen's *Ars medica*, which, however, is probably not the immediate source.²⁰ The next brief paragraph announces further topics: the causes of the various colors found in eyes, the several Greek names for “eye,” its constituent parts, humors and tunics in particular, the functions and activities of the eye (p. 62.14–21 C.). Then comes a potentially significant passage, a discussion of the optic nerves and thalami and of four tunics of the eye (pp. 62.21–65.3 C.). Etymologies are given for θάλαμος and for the names of several of the tunics; some at least of this section must go back to Soranus, and we shall return to it.²¹ The two following sections take

up respectively the functions of the optic “pneuma” and the causes of the several colors of the eye (pp. 65.27–67.12 C.); there are no known sources.²² Next comes a transitional paragraph summing up what Meletius has thus far discussed (pp. 67.13–68.2 C.). Herein occurs a significant statement: ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ περὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρευνῶντες ἐξεθέμεθα . . . πῶς ὁ μὲν ἀμφιβληστροειδῆς καὶ ὁ ἐπιπεφυκῶς καὶ ὁ ῥαγοειδῆς ἔχουσι φλέβας, ὁ δὲ κερατοειδῆς ἀφλεβός ἐστι. . . . (p. 67.13–18 C.). Meletius has in fact mentioned no such detail. This is a clear indication not only that he has been excerpting a fuller account but also that, in all probability, this summation itself is copied from his source. He carelessly fails to notice that, in making his abridgment, he omitted the particular piece of information which he now claims to have given above.²³

Meletius proceeds to announce his next topics, the definition of “eye,” the various words for it in Greek, and the etymologies of these words; eyelids, eyelashes, eyebrows are also discussed (pp. 68.3–70.3 C.). First he gives a definition: ὀφθαλμοί, φησιν, εἰσὶν οἱ συνεστῶτες ἐκ τεσσάρων χιτώνων, καὶ ὑγρῶν διαφερόντων τριῶν· νευρώδεις· αἰσθητικοὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων χρωμάτων καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ σχημάτων. The wording is almost identical to that of a definition in the Pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae*.²⁴ The rest of the section is chiefly concerned with the etymological derivations of “eye” words and certainly goes back almost entirely to Soranus. However, several phrases concerned with the eyelids and eyebrows have close verbal parallels in a homily of John Chrysostom, and either Meletius has here borrowed from Chrysostom or both

θάλαμας, τὰς λεγομένας θαλάμους, τοὺς λεγομένους θαλάμους, and at p. 63.7 C. τὰς θαλάμους and τοὺς θαλάμους.) The usual term for bodily cavities, in the earlier period at least, is θάλαμη, which Galen used for the optic thalami. See further J. Hyrtl, *Onomatologia Anatomica* (Vienna, 1880), 539–41.

²² Similar language and content for some of this material (pp. 66.29–67.7 C.) may be seen in Galen's *Ars medica*, I.330–31 K., but again this passage does not appear to be Meletius' immediate source. See however below, n. 49.

²³ I have cited some examples of this sort of careless abridgment from the work of Leo Medicus in *RhM*, 113, (1970), 79–81.

²⁴ p. 68.4–7 C. = Galen XIX.358–59 K. φησιν in Meletius (p. 68.4 C.) probably is an explicit indication on his part that he is quoting a specific source. I say probably, and not certainly, because the singular φησί can be used idiomatically much like the plural φασί = “they say,” “people say,” and Meletius himself so uses it (p. 6.23 C., where there is a variant φασί). For examples of this usage see Epictetus 2.9.2, 3.20.12; Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. haeres.* V.17, p. 134 ff. Duncker-Schneidewin = V.7.2, p. 79 Wendland; *RhM*, 113 (1970), 84.

²⁰ I.329–30 K. Compare below, n. 49.

²¹ The etymology of θάλαμος (p. 62.29–63.6 C.) has a parallel entry in the so-called *Etymologicum Magnum*; this and the fact that Meletius quotes the poet Hesiod in illustration are clear signs that Soranus is the source of this much at least. (Whether Meletius used θάλαμη or θάλαμος as the technical optical term is unclear; the MSS have at p. 62.29 C. the variants τὰς λεγομένας

draw from a common source.²⁵ The next paragraph deals concisely with the question of relative eye sizes and concludes with a mention of λιρόφθαλμος, an adjective meaning "having large eyes," for which an etymology is given, a probable sign that some of this paragraph as well derives from Soranus.

We are approaching the end of the chapter. The next paragraph discusses the muscles of the eye in language very close to a passage in Galen,²⁶ though there may be an intermediary source, then defines ὄρασις in agreement with the definition in Pseudo-Galen,²⁷ and concludes with some echoes of Gregory of Nazianzus, who is explicitly acknowledged (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεολόγου φωνήν).²⁸ Finally, several pages are devoted to the nature of vision and the views of various thinkers on this subject. The entire passage is copied from Nemesius.²⁹

I summarize the results of this survey. In Cramer's edition of Meletius the chapter on the eyes occupies almost eleven and a half pages, or 341 lines. If we tally up all the passages therein for which a definite source has been identified (including the etymological passages which may be safely assigned to Soranus, even though he is not named), the total is approximately 122 lines. Another thirty lines or so, very similar in content to passages in Galen, although not quite close enough in language to guarantee direct borrowing, may be added for good measure. This gives us some 150 lines, or approximately five pages, for which we can account. That leaves more than half the chapter, some six pages, still unassigned. Inasmuch as Meletius, by his own admission, is but a derivative compiler of other writers' works and no original author himself, this is a veritable treasure trove. Let us see what we can discover there.

²⁵ p. 69.21–23 C.: . . . κόνιν καὶ κάρφη [κάρφος C.] καὶ πάντα τὰ προσπίπτοντα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀποκρούονται, καὶ οὐκ ἔωσι παρενοχλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπ' οὐδενός ~ Chrys., PG 49.123: . . . κόνιν καὶ κάρφη καὶ πάντα τὰ διενοχλοῦντα ἔξωθεν ἀποκρούμεναι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἔωσαι ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τὰ βλέφαρα. p. 69.28–70.2 C.: αἱ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχες αὖξουσὶ τε καὶ ἀποκείρονται· αὗται δὲ αἱ βλεφαρίδες . . . ἐκωλύθησαν αὐξάνεσθαι ~ Chrys., PG 49.123: αἱ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὖξονται τρίχες καὶ ἀποκείρονται, αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀφθῶν οὐκ ἐτι. (Both also mention, with different wording, the problems the very aged experience in this regard.) Note how Meletius has confused eyelashes (βλεφαρίδες) with eyebrows (ὀφρύες), one more indication of careless abridgment (whether of Chrysostom or of a common source).

²⁶ p. 70.20–27 C. ~ Περί μυῶν ἀνατομῆς, XVIII B.932–33 K.

²⁷ p. 70.27–30 C. ~ *Definitiones medicae*, XIX.379 K.

²⁸ p. 71.2–5 C. ~ PG 36.609 B.

²⁹ pp. 71.7–72.20 C. ~ Nemesius, pp. 179–89 Matthaei (excerpts).

III

"The number and character of the ocular tunics furnished abundant discussion and controversy in ancient and medieval times. *Quot homines quot sententiae* was the rule of ocular anatomy in those early days."³⁰ Meletius devotes two pages to the ocular tunics;³¹ his source is unknown. The fact that there was such diversity of doctrine in regard to the ocular tunics provides us with an excellent clue, if not for discovering the actual name of Meletius' source, at least for narrowing the field by process of elimination.

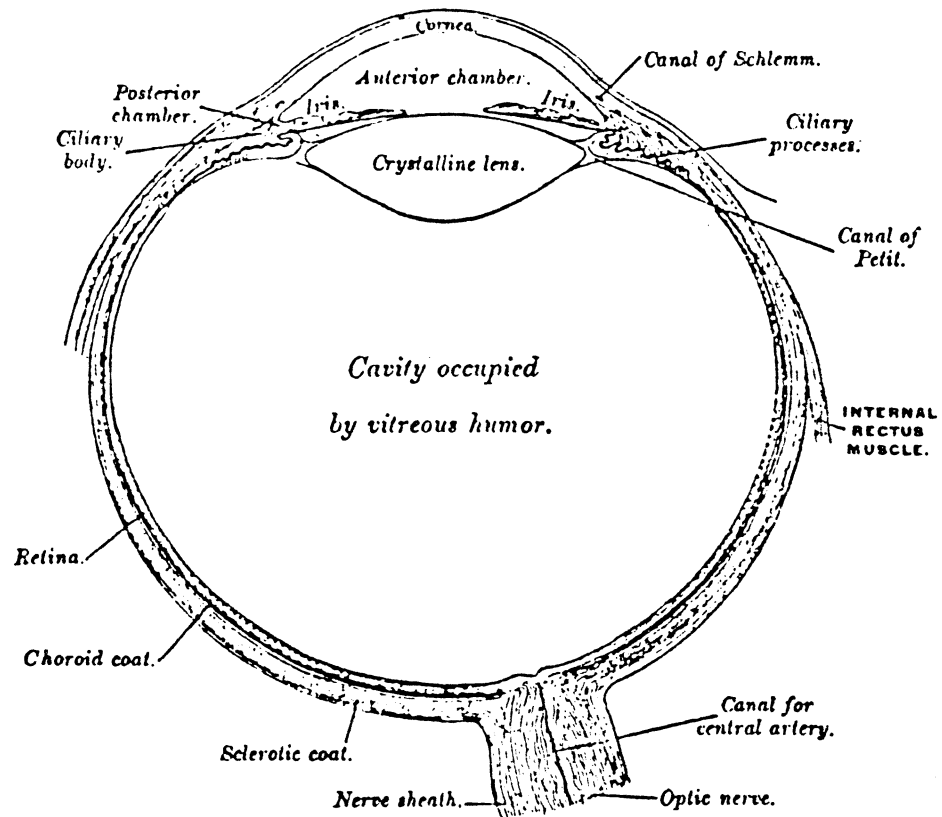
Modern anatomy teaches that there are three tunics of the eye: the first (from without inward) consists of the sclerotic and cornea; the second is the uvea, composed of the choroid, ciliary body, and iris; third and last is the retina (see figure 1). Various causes were responsible for the confused state of affairs in antiquity and the middle ages. First of course was the imperfect knowledge of ocular anatomy at the time, although so far as the tunics were concerned, the Greeks did make some progress. Herophilus, the great Alexandrian anatomist, bears an honorable name in this connection.³² A second, more specific cause of confusion lay in the fact that several of the ocular tunics are composed of more than one part, continuous in each instance. Thus, for example, some Greek physicians recognized the division of the first tunic into the sclerotic and cornea; others did not, as a consequence often using a name strictly appropriate to part of the composite tunic for the whole tunic. Finally, the Greeks, even when they agreed in doctrine, had no uniform terminology for the ocular tunics, especially in the earlier period. A given tunic, or component thereof, could be called by several names. This chaotic situation can be put to advantage in the case of Meletius. We need only compare his "system" and nomenclature with those found in earlier treatises which have survived; any work fundamentally inconsistent with Meletius' exposition can be immediately eliminated as a source, direct or indirect.

Meletius states that there are four ocular tunics

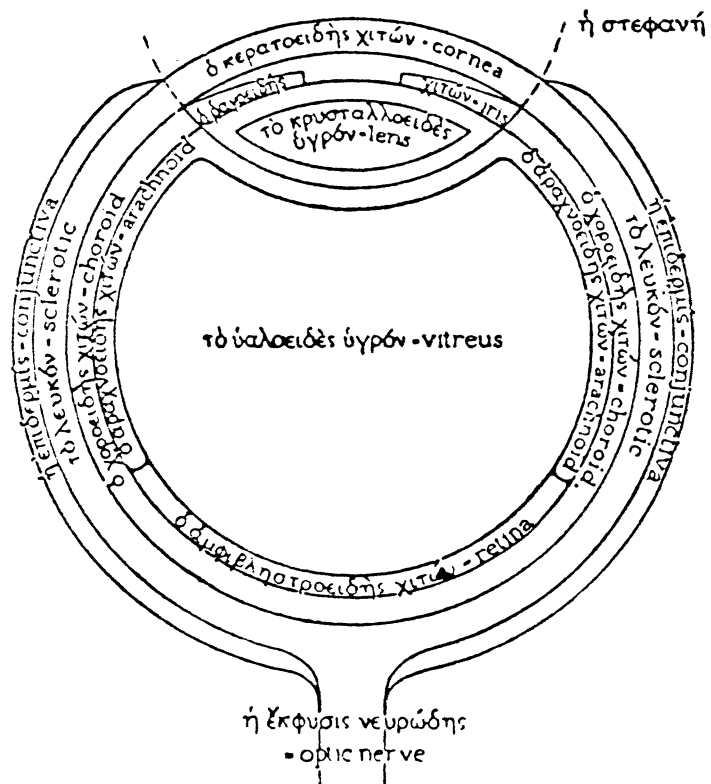
³⁰ C. A. Wood, *Benevenutus Grassus of Jerusalem De Oculis Eorumque Egritudinibus et Curis*. Translated with Notes and Illustrations from the first printed edition, Ferrara, 1474 A.D. (Stanford, 1929), 28 n. 2.

³¹ p. 63.7–65.3 C.

³² See the interesting paper of H. Oppermann, "Herophilus bei Kallimachos" in *Hermes*, 60 (1925), 14–32. See also G. W. Most, "Callimachus and Herophilus," *Hermes*, 109 (1981), 188–96.



1. After Gray's Anatomy



2. Diagram of Eye Reconstructed from Descriptions of Rufus of Ephesus (from Charles Singer, *A Short History of Anatomy and Physiology from the Greeks to Harvey*)

(χιτώνες), namely, starting from within outwards, ὁ ἀμφιβληστροειδής, or retina; ὁ ῥαγοειδής, corresponding to our uvea (= choroid, ciliary body, and iris);³³ ὁ κερατοειδής, corresponding to the sclerotic and cornea; and, finally, ὁ ἐπιπεφυκός, or conjunctiva. This last, a mucous membrane lining the eyelids and reflected over the fore part of the sclerotic and cornea, is not classified as a tunic proper of the eye by modern anatomists.³⁴

Let us survey briefly the competing anatomical doctrines of the Greeks as they relate to the tunics of the eye. The Pseudo-Galenic treatise entitled *Introductio sive medicus* puts it succinctly: ὁ . . . ὀφθαλμὸς συνέστηκεν μὲν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην ἐκ χιτῶνων δύο, οὓς μὴνιγγας ὁ Ἱπποκράτης καλεῖ, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν μνηνύγων ἐκπεφύκασιν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐκ τριῶν, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ ἐκ τεσσάρων.³⁵ Here is explicit testimony for a four-tunic system. The author proceeds to name the four: ὁ κερατοειδής, ὁ ῥαγοειδής, ὁ ἀμφιβληστροειδής, and, lastly, "a fourth tunic, introduced by some, which they also call ἄδηλος." What is this fourth "unclear" tunic? It certainly cannot be the conjunctiva, for that is excluded by the description of it which Pseudo-Galen gives.³⁶ The term ἄδηλος apparently occurs only here; LSJ state that it refers to the hyaloid membrane of the eye. This seems to be an error. The adjective ὑαλοειδής is used primarily of the vitreous humor, τὸ ὑαλοειδὲς ὑγρὸν (see figure 2), but also as another term for the retina: ὁ ὑαλοειδής χιτῶν = ὁ ἀμφιβληστροειδής χιτῶν,³⁷ so that the

"hyaloid membrane" should be the retina, which has just been mentioned in explicit contrast to the fourth tunic, ὁ ἄδηλος. This latter is probably to be identified rather with the capsule of the lens, which Herophilus discovered and added as a fourth tunic, as can be deduced from the accounts given by Rufus of Ephesus and the Pseudo-Rufus, both of whom explicitly set out a four-tunic scheme which includes the capsule of the lens as the fourth tunic.³⁸ There is other evidence for such a scheme, but we need not pursue it further, for it clearly differs from Meletius' account, in which the conjunctiva constitutes the fourth tunic.

Galen approaches the problem of ocular nomenclature with a good deal of common sense. Although his own detailed account of the anatomy of the eye is flawed in certain particulars—how could it be otherwise at the time?—he recognizes the differences of opinions as to the names and number of the tunics, explains why such a state of affairs has come about, and avoids excessive dogmatism. On occasion he recommends as the best procedure simply to follow the common usage of anatomists. As examples of his lack of dogmatism I may mention that he acknowledges both that some physicians regard the capsule of the lens as a tunic (this, it will be recalled, was Herophilus' view), and that the first and second tunic from without inwards may be regarded as two or four tunics, as one likes.³⁹ Despite this rather flexible attitude, Galen nowhere mentions the particular set of four tunics which Meletius adopts.

When we turn to the Byzantine period, there is a dramatic change. Not only does Meletius' list (ἀμφιβληστροειδής, ῥαγοειδής, κερατοειδής, ἐπιπεφυκός) appear, it seems to have won the field and acquired the status of an orthodox canon. What is most characteristic of this list, as we have seen, is the inclusion of the conjunctiva (ἐπιπεφυκός) as one

³³ For these terms see J. Hyrtl (n. 21 above), 588–91.

³⁴ Compare also Rufus, *Onom.* 28 (Daremberg-Ruelle, p. 137): ἐπικεῖται δὲ αὐτῷ [sc. τῷ κερατοειδεῖ καὶ λευκῷ χιτῶνι] ἄνωθεν ἡ καλουμένη ἐπιπεφυκὶς κτλ. Rufus does not here include the conjunctiva (= ἐπιπεφυκός, a meaning not recognized in LSJ) among the tunics. See figure 2. Aetius VII, 1 (Olivieri, II, p. 254, 11–12, 26–27) who does list the ἐπιπεφυκός as a tunic (compare below), then proceeds to call it a membrane: τὰ δὲ βλέφαρα συνίστησιν ὁ ἐπιπεφυκός ὕμην.

³⁵ XIV.711 K. The Hippocratic corpus has little to say; see, however, *Loc. hom.* 2 (VI.280 Littré) = Joly, ed., *Hippocrate* XIII, p. 40: μὴνιγγες δὲ τρεῖς εἰσιν αἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς φυλάσσουσιν, ἡ μὲν ἐπάνω παχύτερη, ἡ δὲ διὰ μέσου λεπτότερη, ἡ δὲ τρίτη λεπτή ἡ τὸ ὑγρὸν φυλάσσουσα.

³⁶ τρίτος δὲ ὁ ἀμφιβληστροειδής, ἐγκολπόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ δεχόμενος ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τὸν . . . τέταρτον χιτῶνα, ὃν καὶ ἄδηλον προσαγορεύουσιν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὕμην σμικρότατος τε καὶ ἰσχνότατος (XIV.712 K.).

³⁷ For ὑαλοειδής as a synonym of ἀμφιβληστροειδής see Rufus *Onom.* 153, p. 154.10 Daremberg-Ruelle, and Pseudo-Rufus, *Anat.* 15, p. 171.11–12 Daremberg-Ruelle. (When LSJ s.v. ὑαλοειδής, state ". . . ὁ ὕ. χιτῶν ὀφθαλμοῦ the crystalline lens of the eye, Medici ap. Poll. 2.71," they are perpetuating Pollux's error: he has confused the names for two tunics, as is clear from a comparison with Rufus. Cf. Pollux II, 70–71 (ed. Bethe, vol. I, pp. 104–05). Eduard Zarncke (*Symbolae ad Iulii Pollucis tractatum De partibus corporis humani* [Leipzig, 1884]), showed that

Pollux derived much of his anatomy from Rufus. For the tunics, see esp. pp. 26–27.

³⁸ Rufus, *Onom.* 153, p. 154; Pseudo-Rufus 10–17, pp. 170–72. For further details see H. Opperman's article (n. 22 above), with references.

³⁹ For Galen's views, see esp. *Anatomical Procedures* X, 2–4 (ed. Simon [Arabic], pp. 40–63; trans. Duckworth, Lyons, Towers, pp. 33–50), and *De usu partium* X, 1–7 (ed. Helmreich, II, 54–81; trans. May, *Parts*, II, 463–82). For the capsule of the lens as tunic: Duckworth, p. 40, and for the first and second tunics as two or four, *ibid.*, p. 42. For the *De usu partium* both Daremberg, I, pp. 607 ff., and May, trans., *Parts*, II, pp. 463 ff., have very useful notes. See also Galen, *De medendi methodo* 1.6, X.47 K., for yet another list of four tunics, namely, κερατοειδής, ῥαγοειδής, ἀραχνοειδής, ἀμφιβληστροειδής. The ἀραχνοειδής, elsewhere identified with the ἀμφιβληστροειδής or retina, here seems to be a section of it. (Compare fig. 2.)

of the tunics. Such is not the practice now, nor does it appear to have been a common view in the pre-Byzantine period. In Byzantium not only Meletius' list, but even his order, starting from within outwards, seems to be standard dogma. Thus Aetius of Amida in the sixth century has the same four tunics in the same order.⁴⁰ In the seventh century (?) Theophilus Protospatharius also names these four.⁴¹ So too does Leo the Philosopher, whoever he may have been, in his *Synopsis of Medicine*;⁴² the work perhaps dates from the tenth century. None of these works is directly dependent on any of the others, so far as we can tell; so this gives us a fair representation of the distribution of the doctrine. One might thus be tempted to conclude that Meletius is simply reproducing a typical and specifically Byzantine medical teaching and let it go at that, were it not for several complicating factors.

First, there is at least one medical treatise from the pre-Byzantine period in which this list of tunics, same names and same order, can be found, to wit the Pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae*.⁴³ Second, Meletius quotes this very work a number of times. Third, most of the anatomical details in Meletius' chapter on the eye cannot derive from the *Definitiones medicae* for the very good reason that these details do not occur in this latter work. Jutta Kollesch, the leading authority on the *Definitiones medicae*, dates that treatise to the last quarter of the first century A.D.⁴⁴ If this dating is even approxi-

mately correct, a fact of some historical importance emerges. There must have existed in the Roman period a general anatomical treatise⁴⁵ which taught a doctrine different from that of Herophilus (as preserved in Rufus and Pseudo-Rufus, Pollux, Celsus etc.), Galen, and the few other medical writers known from this earlier period. This treatise was used by the author of the *Definitiones medicae*, probably in the first century A.D., and then seems to vanish for centuries. It is as if it disappeared into the sea and, to paraphrase the poet, sailed along some underwater stream to the holy city of Byzantium.

If I may continue this image for a moment, the waters of source criticism, or *Quellenforschung*, can become very muddy indeed, and I shall exercise a certain restraint here, with fear and trembling that A. E. Housman's shade may appear of a sudden and contemptuously hiss that *Quellenforschung* is but a longer and nobler word for fudge. Still Meletius undoubtedly did have access, one way or other, to at least one lost first/second century source, Soranus, and that alone, to repeat, makes his work very precious. Kollesch rightly stresses that we cannot identify, for want of evidence, the specific author from whom Pseudo-Galen took his anatomical definitions.⁴⁶ The same, alas, is true of Meletius. We do not know the name of his source. We cannot even say whether he still had direct access to this lost work or used it only indirectly. Nevertheless, in the midst of this uncertainty, we would do well to remind ourselves that the existence of some lost source, hitherto unrecognized, has been detected. That is a real gain. Perhaps we can go a bit further.

IV

Some at least of the Byzantine medical epitomizers are capable of expressing their borrowed doctrines in their own words. *Rem tene, verba sequuntur*. Theophilus may be cited as an example. Contrast, for instance, his description of the tyrant Dionysius' brightly illuminated room, constructed directly over the darkened prison chamber for the

⁴⁰ Aetius VII, 1 (ed. Olivieri, II, p. 254.5–14 = J. Hirschberg, ed. and trans., *Die Augenheilkunde des Aëtius aus Amida* [Leipzig, 1899], p. 2.10–21).

⁴¹ *De corporis humani fabrica* 4.20, p. 161.15–19 Greenhill. Theophilus has gotten the order confused: ἔστι δὲ ἡ τάξις τῶν χιτῶνων αὕτη· πρῶτος ὁ κερατοειδής, δεύτερος ὁ ῥαγοειδής, τρίτος ὁ ἀμφιβληστροειδής, καὶ τέταρτος ὁ ἐπιπεφυκός, ὁ λευκός. As (1) the first tunic (from without) was sometimes divided into two parts, called respectively ὁ λευκός and ὁ κερατοειδής (whereas more often ὁ κερατοειδής came to be used for the whole tunic), and (2) the ἐπιπεφυκός was also described as λευκός (see Meletius, p. 64.30 C.), a certain confusion was inevitable. Thus Greenhill in his note to Theophilus p. 159.13 (on p. 309) writes: "... hoc nomine [sc. τῷ λευκῷ] Noster videtur designare non solum *Tunicam Albugineam*, verum etiam *Membranam Scleroticam*, quod ἐπιπεφυκός etiam appellatur. . . . (p. 161.18) Adeo tamen temere talia vocabula antiqui (atque etiam nonnumquam recentiores,) usurpant, ut saepe difficillime percipias quid quisque eodem nomine significare voluerit." See Hyrtl (n. 21 above), 15–17, 146–47.

⁴² Printed by Ermerins, see p. 129. The manuscript which Ermerins used was missing a folium at the critical point. J. F. Boissonade supplied the deficiency from another manuscript in his *Anecdota Nova* (Paris, 1844, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 367.

⁴³ XIX.358 K.: ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰσιν οἱ συνεστότες ἐκ τεσσάρων χιτῶνων, ἀμφιβληστροειδοῦς, ῥαγοειδοῦς, κερατοειδοῦς, καὶ ἐπιπεφυκότης κτλ.

⁴⁴ *Untersuchungen zu den pseudogalenischen Definitiones Medicae* (Berlin, 1973), 66.

⁴⁵ I say general, rather than specifically ocular, treatise because, as will be seen, the work which Meletius used was not confined to the anatomy of the eye, since he used it also in those chapters which deal with certain other anatomical subjects. For this reason it is unlikely that Meletius' proximate source was a specialist treatise on the eyes, such as the famous *Περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν* of Demosthenes. See M. Wellmann in *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 546–66, and J. Hirschberg, "Die Bruchstücke der Augenheilkunde des Demosthenes," *SA*, 11 (1918), 183–88.

⁴⁶ Kollesch (n. 44 above), 93.

express purpose of damaging the eyes of the prisoners as they were suddenly exposed to the bright light after a long stay in utter darkness, with the similar account in Galen's *De usu partium*, his source.⁴⁷ Theophilus' language is obviously indebted to Galen's, but he has introduced numerous variations. He is his own man. Meletius cannot, or will not, exercise even this much independence; he is little better than a copyist. It bears repeating that for us this is his chief merit.

Now if we study Meletius' language more carefully, there appear slight, but unmistakable, signs of an original writer. Certain stylistic features stand out which set his treatise apart from other Byzantine medical catechisms. Of course what we are seeing is the hand not of Meletius, but of his source. It is the odd detail of style that turns up here and there, rather than the content, which leads me to believe that Meletius had access not merely to a routine Byzantine handbook but, directly or indirectly, to a medical work of more importance. That he actually possessed a copy of a first-century work I consider unlikely, but possible; more probably he used a later abridgment which preserved reasonably faithfully the contents and, to some extent, the language of a lost work which we should be very glad to have. In the absence of it Meletius assumes an importance of his own.

I give some typical examples of the style. On p. 63.7–11 C. Meletius writes: διασχίζεται δὲ τὰ νεῦρα εἰς τὰς θαλάμους, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λαβὼν πάπυρον, ταύτην εἰς λεπτὰ κατατεμών, διασχίζει ἀναπλέκει τε πάλιν, καὶ ποιεῖ χιτῶνα τὸν λεγόμενον ἀμφιβληστροειδῆ, ὁμοίον ἀμφιβλήστροφ· ὄργανον δὲ τοῦτο θηρευτικὸν ἰχθύων. Rufus of Ephesus attests that Herophilus coined the name ἀμφιβληστροειδῆ; it is not uncommon for medical writers to make the obvious etymology explicit, that the tunic was so called because of its similarity to a net. Thus far Meletius' account contains nothing out of the ordinary, unless it be the identification of ἀμφιβληστρον specifically with a *fishing* net. I do not recall that detail in other accounts, but, since that is what the word most often means, we prob-

ably ought not to press that too much. However, the comparison with papyrus, to the best of my knowledge, does not occur elsewhere, and that has the ring of authenticity. A practicing anatomist, which Meletius hardly was, first introduced that illustration. He continues, p. 63.11–14 C.: μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χιτῶνα ἔστι δεύτερος χιτῶν λεγόμενος ῥαγοειδῆς, ὅτι ῥαγὶ σταφυλῆς ἔοικε κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα· καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς σταφυλῆς ὁρῶμεν τὰ μὲν ἔσω δασύτερα, τὰ δὲ ἔξω λεῖα, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥαγοειδοῦς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. The technical term ῥαγοειδῆς and the explanation that it is so called because it is similar in shape to a ῥάξ, "grape," had long been traditional. The expansion of this by means of an explicit comparison ("just as . . . so also") is not usually found; the device is similar to what we saw above (ὥσπερ εἴ τις κτλ.) and may be a stylistic mannerism of a specific author. As one reads on, this impression is confirmed, p. 64.17–20 C.: διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐδεήθη ἐκ διαφανεστάτης οὐσίας τὸν κερατοειδῆ γενέσθαι· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁρῶμεν ὅτι τῶν κερατίνων ἐνδοθεν φανῶν περιεχόμενος ὁ λύχνος τὸ φῶς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔξω πέμπει, μηδὲν ἐμποδίζοντος τῷ λύχνῳ τοῦ σώματος, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα ὁ κερατοειδῆς διαφανῆς ὣν οὐκ ἐμποδίζει τὸ ὀπτικὸν πνεῦμα διεξιέναι κτλ. Once again an explicit comparison is used by way of illustration. The following passage employs the same device, p. 66.19–27 C.: εἰ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ἔστι τὸ φῶδες ὑγρόν, ποιεῖ τὸν γλαυκὸν ὀφθαλμόν, καὶ ὀλίγη γίνεται ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔκλαμψις διότι βαθύνεται τὸ κρυσταλλοειδὲς ὑγρόν καὶ ἡ κόρη. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λίμνης ὑδάτων ἴδοις γινόμενον· τὰ γὰρ ἐν βάθει αὐτῆς ὁρᾶν οὐ δυνάμεθα· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τεθλωμένον εἴη, ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι δέξασθαι χρῶμα τὸ οἶον οὖν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὰ θολερὰ τῶν ὑδάτων ποιοῦσι καὶ ἰλυώδη, μὴ συγχωροῦντα τὰς ἀκτίνas τοῦ φωτός δι' αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι καθαρῶς κτλ. One more example must suffice. Meletius states that it is not always easy to determine the constitution of the eye in specific cases: a "hard and dry" eye is difficult to identify by direct examination: οὐκοῦν ἐκ τῆς ἔξωθεν βασάνου διαγινώσκεται· πολλοὺς γὰρ ὁρῶμεν ἐν καπνῷ στήναι μὴ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ δακρύνοντας πολλὰ, ἄλλους δὲ σφόδρα πρὸς τὸν καπνὸν ἀντιτείνοντας· καὶ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι ὑγροὶ τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖς, οἱ δὲ δεύτεροι σκληροὶ τε καὶ δυσπαθεῖς (pp. 61.29–62.3 C.).⁴⁸

⁴⁷Theophilus IV.20.7, p. 162.9–163.3 Greenhill ~ Galen, *De usu partium* 10.3, II.66.23–67.6 Helmreich. Galen is said to be the only source for this anecdote; considering Plato's well-known relationship with the tyrant Dionysius, I have often wondered whether the famous parable of the cave in the *Republic*, where it describes prisoners forced to look suddenly up at the light with the attendant pain (see 515 C), may not have been intended in part as an oblique criticism of the tyrant. This is indeed speculative, perhaps too much so, especially since we do not know whether Galen's anecdote is historical, but still . . .

⁴⁸Compare J. Locke, "Gypsy Life in Shropshire—As It Was and As It Is," in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Fourth Series, 1:1 (1974), 19: "You may have noticed that you seldom see a Roman wearing glasses—even at 60 or 70. I don't know why this is, unless our camp fires have something to do with it. If a

It is time to summarize the results of this enquiry. Meletius had access to a treatise on human anatomy and physiology which has not survived. Comparison with other chapters of Meletius, where this same treatise was also clearly used, proves that it was a general study and not a special treatise on the eyes alone.⁴⁹ Its four-tunic theory probably goes

gorgio [= non-gypsy] comes to our fire, the wood smoke makes his eyes water. It does not seem to affect our eyes, and perhaps over the years the smoke has made our eyes stronger.”

⁴⁹I give one example: What Meletius says in his chapter on the head concerning the relative merits of small and large heads, and their signification (pp. 56.23–57.13 C.), and what he says about small and large eyes in the chapter under consideration (pp. 62.4–13 C.), are obviously derived from the same work, as a comparison of the two passages will immediately show. Meletius himself—or his source—makes a cross-reference, p. 62.8–9: καθὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἴρηται. (R. Foerster in his *Scriptores Physiognomoni Graeci et Latini* [Leipzig, 1893], II.315–16, includes Meletius, pp. 56.23–57.13 C. Presumably he knew no immediate source for the passage.) As an illustration of the complexity of *Quellenforschung*, note that the statement ἡ μὲν οὖν μικρὰ κεφαλὴ μοχθηρὰς ἐγκεφάλου κατασκευῆς ἴδιον σημεῖον (p. 56.23–24 C.) occurs verbatim in Galen, *Ars medica* I.320.4–6 K., in a passage of very similar content, though its relationship to Meletius is problematic. (Benedict Einarson also called my attention to Galen's *Commentary on Hippocr. Epid.* VI.XVII A.818–19 K., another, but less close parallel, for the statement.) Compare also Galen I.320.6–10 ~ Meletius p. 57.8–11 C., though here too the verbal correspondences should be closer if Galen is the immediate source. In this same section Galen discusses, among other topics, the question of the head which is εὐρυθμὸς σχήματι; Meletius does not. However, in the chapter on the eyes Meletius does introduce the corresponding topic: ὁ τοίνυν ὀφθαλμὸς ἡ μέγας ἐστὶν ἡ μικρὸς καὶ ἡ εὐρυθμὸς ἡ ἄρρυθμος κτλ. (p. 62. 4 ff. C.). The same topic occurs in Galen's *Ars medica*, which, as in the case of the head, so also with the eyes, shows close correspondences with Meletius; compare *Ars medica* I.329–331 K. with Meletius, pp. 61.22–62.13 and pp. 66.28–67.7 C. Presumably Meletius' immediate source, whatever its relation to Galen, dealt with the εὐρυθμία and ἄρρυθμία of both head and eyes; Meletius omitted the relevant sentences in the case of the head. (This assumes, to repeat, that Meletius did not in these cases borrow directly from Galen. We cannot be absolutely certain of that and the presence in both authors of an identical sentence such as ἡ μὲν οὖν μικρὰ κεφαλὴ μοχθηρὰς ἐγκεφάλου κατασκευῆς ἴδιον σημεῖον [see above] may strike some as decisive. The situation is not so simple. For example, in Paul of Aegina VI.61 = 2.101.13–16 Heiberg, the following sentence occurs: οἱ δὲ παρασάται καὶ κρεμαστήρες ὀνομαζόμενοι ἐκφύσεις εἰσὶν τῆς τοῦ νωτιαίου μυελοῦ μήνιγγος σὺν φλεβὶν ἀρτηριωδέσιν ἐν τοῖς διδύμοις καθήκουσαι, δι' ὧν ἡ τοῦ σπέρματος εἰς τὸ αἰδοῖον γίνεται πρόσεις. The same sentence occurs in Meletius, p. 113.17–20 C. with only the slightest of

back at least to the first century A.D., although this doctrine does not appear to have become common before the Byzantine period. It is true that we know neither the author nor the date of this lost treatise;⁵⁰ we do not even know whether Meletius used it directly or in a later abridgment.⁵¹ But such a treatise there was. It is safe to assume that Meletius, such being his practice, has copied his source fairly closely, if selectively. Moreover, the characteristic mannerisms of style illustrated above do suggest that the *ipsissima verba* of the author have been preserved to some extent, even if there was an intermediate source involved.

The present paper is thus of a preliminary nature; its purpose has been merely to call attention to the existence of this anonymous treatise embedded in the pages of Meletius. Perhaps even this veil of anonymity can in time be stripped away. Much remains to be done; much can be done. If we scholars are prepared to gird up our loins and dig long and deep, who is to say that one fine day we will not at last discover the crock of gold?

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variants [οἱ καὶ κρεμαστήρες λεγόμενοι for καὶ κρεμαστήρες ὀνομαζόμενοι and τοῦ νωτιαίου μυελοῦ τῆς μήνιγγος for τῆς τοῦ νωτιαίου μυελοῦ μήνιγγος. In Meletius read ἐκφύσεις εἰσὶν for ἐκφύσεις ἐστί of the printed editions; there is MS authority for εἰσὶν.] This is not an isolated case of Meletius' borrowing from Paul; rather both go back to a common source—and that source, in the last analysis, may well be Soranus, to judge from the surrounding context in Meletius.)

⁵⁰Soranus, whom Meletius certainly used, cannot be excluded as a candidate. Unfortunately, too little is known about the format and extent of his work on the names and etymologies of the parts of the body. It may have been fairly detailed. What his teaching on the ocular tunics was is also unknown. I call attention only to the fact that he seems to have had a fondness for the mannerism, found in Meletius, of explaining his point by “just as . . . so also” clauses. See, for example, his *Gynaecia* 1.26, p. 16.26 ff. Ilberg; 1.35, p. 25.4 ff.; 1.36, p. 25.11 ff.

⁵¹There are occasional unclassical usages in the passages cited: p. 64.20 C. μηδὲν ἐμποδίζοντος, rather than οὐδὲν ἐμπιδίζοντος; p. 66.25–26 μὴ συγχωροῦντα for οὐ συγχωροῦντα; p. 66.22 ἴδοις, potential optative without ἂν. But such lapses from “pure” Attic style occur long before the Byzantine period and can tell us little. Manuscript spellings such as γίνεταί tell us nothing.